Raw materials were making things worse. Very few local materials were used, mostly wood and sheep’s wool. Most of them were imported, as there were no equivalent Cypriot ones. This changed the product to a considerable degree.

Despite everything, the number of refugees employed in this program comes to 5050, but only 50 of them on a permanent basis in the workshops. The rest of them take work to their houses. As far as the male craftsmen are concerned, they are now employed in light industry as labourers.

Today the results of the Turkish invasion on handicrafts are still visible. The craftsmen in 1974 lost their property, houses and workshops. Despite the above-mentioned problems, the project reviving these traditional crafts had a lot of success. The refugees found steady jobs and were able to rebuild their lives. And the products of the Cyprus Handicraft Centre are very popular and are considered as the most “authentic” pieces of handicraft, yet they have few things in common with those invaluable traditional handmade objects that can only be seen in the collections of the Cyprus Folk Art Museum.

We all are convinced that it is necessary to preserve the so-called national heritage. It touches primarily arts and crafts products. It is necessary to know how all of it can be preserved since such understanding gradually vanishes in confrontation with present social progress. Besides, it seems to be important for me that the meeting about the actual development of folk culture should be devoted to thinking not only of how something is to be preserved, but we should ask ourselves why and what we want to preserve.

We are united on the fact that museum-purpose preservation is necessary as it is something which future generations will be grateful for. This, however, is not the only way how to rule out forgetting about tradition. It is also possible to try to plant those parts of tradition which we consider worthwhile preserving in our modern society. Whereas the first possibility is a static one and requires historical trustworthiness and is related to a certain part of the past, the other way is dynamic, hybrid and up-to-date. By the first approach a piece of the past is cut off to be immortalized in the present, while the other approach sees the present itself contain the past. The other approach makes up the core of my contribution. I will be discussing two problematic aspects which must be taken into account if we intend to achieve the merging of traditional elements with our present society in a positive sense: the reification of tradition and the idea of ethnicity which is a part of folklorism.

When we speak of regaining traditional heritage, one has to realize that we are moving within the framework of the folkloristic phenomenon – I refer to the concept in its widest sense. Everything that is linked with the social application of folklore – as soon as one realizes its existence – is included in the concept. We know the concept of “folklorism” comprises a wide spectrum of content and connotations, which are being differently assessed. There is a number of ways for the realization of folklorism, some are more rational than others, and I believe the sense of meetings like this one lies in finding the most intelligent way how to practise folklorism. If we take the preservation of traditional elements in our society as an undoubted value, we also know that folklorism is an ideology which implies only a very distorted view of reality, preventing us from a sensible handling of tradition. One of the problems could be named “the reification of tradition.”

As we can put a vase, a musical instrument or any other distinctive thing onto a shelf in a museum, the same may be done by the society as it takes the knowledge of the concept of folklore as something autonomous – tradition is being reified. What is called a tradition, however, cannot be separated from its human context. Every demonstration of tradition is closely connected with a certain time and place, and is related to the perception of reality, needs and concrete possibilities of population. Despite all this, through a confining and reality-distorting approach, tradition is often being identified with certain forms without taking into consideration that it is rather the harmony of various distinctive elements that forms something more than the pure morphology of concrete actions. If one of folk art’s elements is its closeness to a group of people to which it is related, through reification it is moved out into a distant space. This, however, is something which leads to triviality in folkloric practice and allows the finding of an appropriate equivalent in diverse contexts.

The base of folklorism could be identified as “folkloric value”. It is a subjective concept, made up of all the criteria which are part of 19th century folklore, such as “antiquity”, “genuineness”, “rurality”, “ethnics”, “exotism”. These criteria are closely linked to each other. They marked the way for the first ethnographers. The more a certain cultural event is of a higher folkloric value, the greater the possibility that it will be seen by folklorists.
This very folkloric value gives the idea of tradition a certain autonomy, and makes it possible for a tradition to exist independently, out of context in a certain social background, and by this it allows the reification of the value. 

The proper value which we have attributed to the tradition confirms our society's efforts to preserve certain habits which were popular in the past. The fact that we are dealing with cultural phenomena whose social value are not based on themselves – as it has become old-fashioned in competition with progress – but it is based on the value of tradition which is proper to it, which may lead to their collision with other values of our present era. Today's man is often attracted to archaic forms of folklore, which, however, will always be linked to certain values and meanings that may be pushed aside on a different level, but which necessarily need not disappear.

Europe gives a good example with a large number of religious folk customs, which are considered folklore and are not in agreement with the religious spirit of present Catholicism, mainly after Vatican Council II. Although the customs have recently been accepted by the present Catholic clergy, they have often been causing problematic situations. A Barcelona newspaper has recently reported on the priest of the small Catholic village of Arbucies who on the Day of Saint Christopher categorically rejected blessing cars, despite the local people's feeling that they were losing their holiday, which is popular in many of the country's regions. According to the priest, the custom is in contradiction with present Christian values and he called the custom "pseudoreligious".

In different circumstances or different times the priest's attitude would not surprise us. In today's Catalonia, the tradition has for decades been attributed to a very important meaning due to very concrete socio-political reasons, whereas present religious values have been placed very low. The report was very surprising for the newspaper's paying so much attention to the case. In fact, the priest's attitude took us by surprise, as it went against the tendency in Catalan society to judge tradition as it is, not regarding the implications which follow from it. The reification of tradition allows for its application, although it is not fully identical with present religious values. I have already mentioned that pseudoreligious folklore may be accepted by believers without any problems. An opposite example may be observed too: religious folklore is being appreciated and supported by non-believers. It is not difficult to find other examples. In Catalonia, people have suggested introducing the "grallu" – a folk musical instrument – into the schools. The instrument belongs to the wind group, having a double reed. According to the priest, the custom is in contradiction with present Christian values and he called the custom "pseudoreligious".

In all the mentioned examples the meanings attributed to tradition encounter a circle of values which are very specific groups. Every remark or criticism should be directed only towards the related specific groups. There are cases, however, in which the celebration of tradition may and must lead to criticism on a much broader social level. Let us remember, for instance, the folksish practice of cruelty to animals like bullfights and cockfights, the throwing of goats from the bell-tower, or other cruel habits, which are being practiced in various regions throughout Spain. Even today, some people including cultural anthropologists calling for the strict boundaries of tradition, or rather from that what is considered tradition. They are criticized that they allegedly betray certain forms and content of ethnic value, while many of those most stubborn proponents of tradition still do not know what the content of the term is.

A naive opinion is being held that the performance of folk musical repertoire must stick to the note transcription that was collected by ethnographers and musical ethnologists. It is often overlooked that musical transcriptions are not always precise, especially those that come from older ethnographers. A large portion of the transcriptions were collected according to the author's conviction that they had really written down what they had listened to, which may not always have been the case, or according to what their audience, for which they published, expected of them. There are a lot of ethnographers who chose or even re-made melodies and texts coming from oral tradition according to aesthetic and ideological criteria. Apart from this, today we know that one of the most remarkable features of folk music is its minimum fixing. Just due to the directness of folk art, the song today being spoken of as "traditional" with its full social validity, was itself in constant evolution until a folklorist discovered and wrote it down and by this checked its further development. Hence, in case the song is performed on stage, we have obtained not only a folk song, but a folkloristic product as well.

This is a large paradox of traditional purism. Purism striving to preserve the traditional cultural heritage loses its sense, if we do not deal with the historical or museum exhibition of a cultural piece of work and apply it in modern society. Since the rustic tradition was viewed from the city's perspective as "folklore", it has gained such a value as it has never known before. It has brought about changes not only in its inner developmental dynamics, but also in its form, content and functions. Owing to folklore, a number of pre-industrial phenomena, endangered by the development of our society have been preserved. It is probable, however, that what has been preserved is not as exactly the same as what we had intended to preserve, even if we sometimes persuade ourselves that it has been done. For example, a folk song from a lover of tradition will never be the same as it had been unless it was taken out from its own original context. What was handed down and spread orally in the past and changed with local and time influences has now become static through the fixing of it on paper or tape. That which is a simple, commonplace song, which nobody dared to bring out from their own dwelling or tavern, is now becoming an "ethnic legacy", and thus worthy of stage performance. Forms of folklore are being adapted to the taste and needs of the new audience; they attain a new sense, which they did not have before: the representation of a group of people defined by ethnic criteria.

The tradition of our society includes a process of adaptation, which will be changing it in a certain way, maybe also in the morphological sense, but mainly on the semantic and functional level, which allows it to find a new place in a new context. Although all the changes are closely linked to every folkloristic demonstration, we are not always aware of it. But the awareness is necessary at every attempt for a dynamic preservation of our cultural heritage. It implies that it is not necessary to have objections to a sensitive and well-considered modification of what is unchangeable in the sight of the folklorist. Culture is a hybrid within time and space, and one must identify more and more with the attitude which is offered when one is forced to believe in so-called ethnic purity.
This very folkloric value gives the idea of tradition a certain autonomy, and makes it possible for a tradition to exist independently, out of context in a certain social background, and by this it allows the reification of the value.

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This initiative wanted to be faithful to tradition, but has come into conflict with basic pedagogical principles. "Gralla" is a musical instrument which is more difficult from the technical point of view, and besides, it is more difficult to tune it exactly. Another example may be folklores, who put a large emphasis on repertoire. They pursue a well-defined musical treatment and take over only the texts which are rich formally, as well as in their content. It is sometimes the case of folklores who make up their mind to perform songs which are on one hand crippled from the musical point of view, but have "intrascendent" lyrics only due to their traditional origin. In this case, all other artistic values are drowned out by the traditional value.

In all the mentioned examples the meanings attributed to tradition encounter a circle of values of very specific groups. Every remark or criticism should be directed only towards the related specific groups. There are cases, however, in which the celebration of tradition may and must lead to criticism on a much broader social level. Let us remember, for instance, the foolish practice of cruelty to animals like bullfights and cockfights, the throwing of goats from the bell-tower, or other cruel habits, which are being practiced in various regions throughout Spain. Even today, some people including cultural anthropologists calling for the strict boundaries of tradition, or rather from that what is considered tradition. They are criticized that they allegedly betray certain forms and content of ethnic value, while many of those most stubborn proponents of tradition still do not know what the context of the term is.

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I say it is a positive value, which deserves to be taken seriously and must be supported. A good example of the integration of traditional elements into modern society is Barcelona's "Corre-foc". It is a new festive act of the Catalan city's festival which takes place in September. "Corre-foc" is a newly formed expression for the procession in which devils, 3 dragon monsters and other mystic animals of Catalonian folk tradition take part. The procession is accompanied by large fireworks flashing and sparkling out of the mouths of the monsters and the hands of devils over heads of the courageous, rolling crowd. "Galli", drums and other percussion instruments accompany the procession.

Every pursuit of traditions would scorn the "Corre-foc". Even if the procession largely consists of traditional elements, they are completely taken out of context and put together and re-used having little to do with their original time and space parameters, as well as their original sense and function. A large part of the elements come from traditional performances and religious festivals of "Corpus Christi Day", in which devils would fight against heavenly beings led by the archangel Michael. Nowadays, "Corre-foc" is organized exclusively for the people's sake, that is, it has lost any religious meaning. Despite all this, in my opinion, "Corre-foc" can be viewed as a good example of the integration of traditional elements from the modern viewpoint and in complete harmony with the society. The best proof of it is the public's positive response. Out of all events of Barcelona's city festival, "Corre-foc" has the largest attendance. Its success has given rise to a new tradition, which is modern, but of course having a considerable flavour of ancient times. Barcelona's inhabitants cannot give it up and so "Corre-foc" is also being copied in other regions of Catalonia.

The redefinition of tradition is carried out not because of tradition itself, but because of the values which are contained in it, which can be seen as positive for our modern society. Then, a repeated transformation should be preferred to historical trustworthiness, and the false values which are contained in it, which should be a priori accepted. A number of past traditions go against our modern views of human existence. Conflicts and to what extent the work has contributed to reconciliation.

Folklorism expects the existence of the "Catalonian music", as for example, the "Catalonian spirit", out of which all tender melodies and rhythms have to come. For example, José Subirá, Antología Musical de Cantos Populares Españoles, Barcelona 1930, page 53, in folk production ethnocentric attitudes are not at all exceptional: "Spanish folk songs are more important than the songs of other countries. The reason is various social and geographical factors, which are only specific to our Iberian Peninsula. José Subirá, Antología Musical de Cantos Populares Españoles, Barcelona 1930, page 53. In modern viewpoint and in complete harmony with the society. The best proof of it is the public's positive response. Out of all events of Barcelona's city festival, "Corre-foc" has the largest attendance. Its success has given rise to a new tradition, which is modern, but of course having a considerable flavour of ancient times. Barcelona's inhabitants cannot give it up and so "Corre-foc" is also being copied in other regions of Catalonia.

There exists folklore which contains the criterion of discrimination of women, of a certain social group, or of an ethnic minority, or is typically cruel to animals. Ethnocentric and discriminatory views are contained in every folkloristic body of any country as a mirror reflecting a certain era which we would like to see overcome. However, they are still alive in tragedies such as the one in Bosnia. I suppose it would be interesting to ask to what extent the work of ethnographers in the past has affected the intensification of present ethnic conflicts and to what extent the work has contributed to reconciliation.

To be aware of limits is extremely important. As we know, folklorism may become an intensive source of ethnocentrism and chauvinist views. The real cultural traditions of a country are not identical with the views from the folkloristic perspective. Ideology makes some cultural features preferred to others, whereas some may be scorned or even persecuted. So folklorism sometimes takes on the characteristics of a crusade and turns against every foreign influence, and through its cultural dynamics may endanger the existence of what is viewed as its own cultural heritage. Examples where ethnic ideology deter the dynamics of cultural exchange and identifies outside cultural influences as the archenemy of collectivity can be found in the folkloristic literature of every country. In Catalonia, for instance, the expansion of Flamenco and Sevillana has been strongly criticized since the end of the last century. "Catalonia is crowded with Castilian songs today, in houses, streets, and schools only Castilian songs are being heard, and the nice and very moral Catalonian songs are being forgotten. There must be a more intensive protest against performances, songs and dances that are called Flamenco. There has never existed anything that would be in a larger disagreement with the Catalan character and also there can never be found anything that would more destructively affect the dignity and stability of our race." Josep Tarrés i Bagen, La Tradició Catalana, Barcelona 1924 (4th edition), page 86-87. The resentment against adopting foreign cultural elements is often considered patriotic.

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The relocation of tradition is carried out not because of tradition itself, but because of the values which are contained in it, which can be seen as positive for our modern society. Then, a repeated transformation should be preferred to historical trustworthiness, and the false faithfulness to purity should make way for the concept of hybridity. This also means that every tradition, regardless of what folkloric value has been attributed to it, should be a priori accepted. A number of past traditions go against our modern views of human existence. There exists folklore which contains the total discrimination of women, of a certain social group, or of an ethnic minority, or it is typically cruel to animals. Ethnocentric and discriminatory views are contained in every folkloric body of any country as a mirror reflecting a certain era which we would like to see overcome. However, they are still alive in tragedies such as the one in Bosnia. I suppose it would be interesting to ask to what extent the work of ethnographers in the past has affected the intensification of present ethnic conflicts and to what extent the work has contributed to reconciliation.

We know the concept of ethnicity is crucial to folklorism. Folkloric elements are used to give an inner connection to a group which identifies with them. In this way their "instrumentalization" by every political system can be explained. Folklore unifies not only because it gives content to collectivity, but also because it records differences at the same time. The differences are not only pointed out, they are ethnocentrically evaluated, too. For example, if we speak of a Slovak, German or Catalan dance, these adjectives are not justified by social relevance or geographical origin. In these regions there exist a lot of dances which are socially relevant, but cannot be called Slovak, German or Catalan. The idea of ethnicity is considered to be an expression of the Herderian national spirit in which everything is related to folklore. The "spirit" is present everywhere in a nation's collective life. The "spirit" is the source of spirit. Although it is a bit exaggerated, national traditions have to be seen as "Slovak" or "Catalonian" music, as it is viewed as a result of this "spirit".

However, cultural anthropology cannot take on the subjective viewpoint of folklorism. Folklorism expects the existence of the "Catalanian music", as it believes in the existence of the "Catalonian spirit", out of which all tender melodies and rhythms have to come. The objective analysis of culture, however, will show us that this is not so. "Catalanianess" and "Slovakness" do not form a systematic circle comprising all cultural activity, as is demanded by folklorism. "Catalonianes" and "Slovakes" represent only the concept of ethnicity, which is only one of a number of elements and appears on an equal level with the other elements, which together make up an entire consistent system. Therefore, neither Catalanian music, nor Slovak music come from a "national spirit". It is only a small selection of the musical elements, which can be marked as "Catalonian" and "Slovak", because the system of ethnicity exists and marking is one its functions. Out of all the musical elements which are present in the Slovak region, only a tiny part could be marked as Slovak. Folklorism points out or rejects the "folkloric" value of a piece using the criteria of ethnicity. This is the process of forming a national "cultural heritage". There is a question, however, as to how many folkloric elements are excluded because they do not fit with the standards of cultural elites of a certain period. If ethnicity is social subjectivity, then folklorism is obviously an ideology.

To be aware of limits is extremely important. As we know, folklorism may become an intensive source of ethnocentric and charismatist views. The real cultural traditions of a country are not identical with the views from the folkloristic perspective. Folklore makes some cultural features preferred to others, whereas some may be scorned or even persecuted. So, folklorism sometimes takes on the characteristics of a crusade and turns against every foreign influence, and through its cultural dynamics may endanger the existence of what is viewed as its own cultural heritage. Examples where ethnic ideology deters the dynamics of cultural exchange and identifies outside cultural influences as the archenemy of collectivity can be found in the folkloristic literature of every country. In Catalonia, for instance, the expansion of Flamenco and Sevilliant has been strongly criticized since the end of the last century.

"Catalonians are crowded with Castilian songs today, in houses, streets, and schools only Castilian songs are being heard, and the nice and very moral Catalonian songs are being forgotten. There must be a more intensive protest against performances, songs and dances that are called Flamencos there. There has never existed anything that would be in a larger disagreement with the Catalanian character and also there can never be found anything that would more destructively affect the dignity and stability of our race." Josep Tarradell i Bages, La Tradició Catalana, Barcelona 1924 (4th edition), page 86-87 The resentment against adopting foreign cultural elements is often considered patriotic.

"...Inhabitants of the Spanish province of Teruel did not at all agree with the introduction and preservation of songs from other regions, and by this they bravely proved their love for their own region." Miguel Armadas, Coleccion de cantos populares de Teruel, Zaragoza 1927, page 8

In folk production ethnocentric attitudes are not at all exceptional:

"Spanish folk songs are more important than the songs of other countries. The reason is various social and geographical factors, which are only specific to our Iberian Peninsula." José Subirats, Antologia Musical de Castilla Populares Españoles, Barcelona 1930, page VII

"People whose musicality is average and whose fantasy is low will never be able to develop a beautiful song. This is the case of the Aragonians who can be said to be a nation of only one song and only one dance, the system of songs and dances is only a reflection of the system of traditions which are also the general character of our national" (Catalonia). Our race, in this respect, one of the most advanced in the world. Our nation is one of the richest as far as folk music is concerned. The nation can be compared only to some nations in the conglomeration that is called Russia." Francesc Pujol, El vol d’unes cancions, Revista Musical Catalana 1930, p. 53
The mentioned statements which were compiled in the first half of the century deserve condemnation. Nowadays, such rough and outrageous tones could hardly be heard, even if such statements are in certain forms hidden in folkloric ideology. It is not necessary to emphasize that we are not interested in such an approach to traditions. If we speak of the integration of tradition into modern society, we must never forget about the ideological aspects of folklorism which can lead to ethnocratic, chauvinistic or anti-immigration attitudes. These negative aspects can damage the coexistence of diverse groups for a long time. These days, when the major interest is to form multicultural societies, every sign of "ethnical cleansing" must be strictly ruled out. Heinrich Heine wrote: "Where flowers are burnt, people shall finally be burnt, too". Where the cultural heritage of a group is ignored or rejected, there is the danger that collectivity shall be ignored and rejected, too.

NOTES
1) By tradition Saint Christopher is considered to protect travellers. The guarding role has nowadays been transferred onto drivers who have their cars blessed against accidents.
2) for example: "La Vanguardia", July 8, 1993, p. 24
3) Devils ("diables") are typical figures in Catalonian folklore. Originally they took part in the "Corpus Christi Day" processions. Boys dressed as devils would perform various dances.

THE CENTRE FOR FOLK ART PRODUCTION – SITUATION AND PROSPECTS

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In my paper I would like to mention the activities of the Centre For Folk Art Production in connection with the Act of Folk Art Production And Handicrafts. I will point out some problems the Centre has now and its plans for the near future.

At the very beginning, I will give my opinion of the term "folk art production", because this concept is not so frequently used abroad and there are other terms used more often there, such as craft, traditional craft, contemporary craft, art craft, folk production, folk art, home trade and others.

The term "folk art production" started being used at the end of the World War II as a result of organising folk production. It expresses a relationship to folk production, crafts and folk fine arts, and continues the production of traditional objects, emphasising their aesthetic aspect.

We realise that the term is from today's point of view inaccurate and questionable, and we should pay attention to the problems of terminology.

[That is all regarding terminology, and now let me continue the subject of my paper.]

The establishment of the Centre For Folk Art Production was the result of a cultural, social and historical need in order to preserve the values of traditional production, folk art and handicrafts. It was the result of an effort that materialised as early as the end of the nineteenth century by the founding of various associations, schools, share-holding companies, and cooperatives.

By including the Centre in the sector of culture and adopting the Act of Folk Art Production And Handicrafts in 1958, the mission of the Centre was specified. The Act defined the status of folk art production within our national culture and created the conditions for its preservation and further development.

The Act enacted the search and the care for professional growth of producers in all material sectors all over Slovakia. It succeeded finding and restoring a whole range of traditional techniques and crafts in a short time. At that time it was possible to start a cooperative with several former producers and craftsmen who inherited the experience from previous generations as well as the skill and knowledge of traditional production methods.

Another activity directly commissioned by the Act was research and documentary work.

Long-term systematic work resulted in a rich documentary collection consisting of writings, drawings, photographs and samples. It succeeded documenting almost all kinds of production, their technological procedures, decorating techniques, ornaments. Extremely valuable is the documentation of traditional folk costumes. Folk costume varieties from almost ninety of Slovakia's regions are elaborated.

The documentation of the Centre is a valuable data bank important for the preservation of traditional production at present and in the future as well.

A large number of producers and craftsmen and the rich documentary material were a foundation for the further development of related activities.

Designers and artists were involved in the process of creative work gradually. They directed producers in their creative work, designed the products originating from traditions, but also the products adopted to present living environment.

The wide assortment of utility and decorative products, the number of good producers and the rich documentary collection helped the Center to meet its cultural mission without any big problems almost up to the present.